

Adat Space in Muslim-Christian Conflict Resolution at Minang Realm, West Sumatera, Indonesia

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Abstract

Adat or custom, which was recommended as an ethnic and religious platforms reconciliation of post-violence in Eastern part of Indonesia, has become a resolution to the occurred conflict; hence, it does not lead to violence between the MM and NK communities in Nagari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman, West Sumatra. Adat has encouraged the conflicting parties to find the root of causes and to formulate various approved settlement models. The purpose of this research is to prove that adat has been used in formulating various resolution models according to the types of conflicts that occur. The research data comes primarily from various documents belonging to the nagari which are strengthened by interviews with the parties involved in conflict resolution. The thematic mapping of the documents was confirmed and explored through interviews with participants from both the MM and NK communities. The results of the study revealed that the conflict resolution model offered by adat ranges from prohibitions and restrictions on raising pigs to a total ban but provides a number of payments and replaces them with ducks. Deliberation, consensus and mediation, which are the main mechanisms of adat in conflict resolution, have become guarantees and protection for minority communities. In line with that, the article suggests the need for synergy with religious values; hence, the function of the religious values is more significant in resolving religious conflicts that occur between the majority and minority communities. The space for social conflict, religious conflict and even customary conflict itself is increasingly open in the future along with the strengthening of conservatism both on a local, national and global scale so that various models of conflict resolution are needed, including custom-based ones.

Keywords: Adat; deliberation; consensus; Minang Muslim; Nias Christian.

Abstrak

Adat yang direkomendasi sebagai instrumen rekonsiliasi pasca konflik kekerasan etnik dan agama di Indonesia bagian timur, telah menjadi solusi konflik sehingga tidak menimbulkan kekerasan antara komunitas MM dan NK di Nagari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman, Sumatera Barat. Adat telah mendorong pihak-pihak yang berkonflik untuk menemukan akar penyebabnya dan merumuskan berbagai model penyelesaian yang disepakati. Tulisan ini bertujuan membuktikan bahwa adat telah digunakan dalam merumuskan berbagai model resolusi sesuai dengan tipe-tipe konflik yang terjadi. Data penelitian bersumber terutama dari berbagai dokumen milik nagari yang diperkuat dengan wawancara dengan para pihak yang terlibat dalam penyelesaian konflik. Pemetaan tematis dari dokumen dikonfirmasi dan didalami melalui wawancara dengan partisipan dari komunitas MM dan NK. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa model penyelesaian konflik yang ditawarkan adat mulai dari larangan dan pembatasan beternak babi sampai pada pelarangan total namun memberikan sejumlah pembayaran dan menggantinya dengan ternak itik. Musyawarah, mufakat dan mediasi yang menjadi mekanisme utama adat dalam penyelesaian konflik telah menjadi jaminan dan perlindungan bagi komunitas minoritas. Sejalan dengan itu, tulisan menyarankan perlunya sinergi dengan nilai-nilai agama agar fungsinya semakin signifikan dalam menyelesaikan konflik keagamaan antara komunitas mayoritas dan minoritas. Ruang konflik sosial, konflik agama bahkan konflik adat sendiri semakin terbuka di masa depan seiring menguatnya arus konservatisme baik pada skala lokal, nasional maupun global sehingga dibutuhkan berbagai model penyelesaian konflik termasuk berbasis adat.

Kata kunci: Adat; musyawarah; mufakat; Minang Muslim; Nias Kristen.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has experienced at least three episodes of socio-religious conflict (Muliono, 2020). The first was the New Order period, which was more directed at conflicts between the government and the people. This conflict, which is referred to as a vertical conflict, has positioned the state as both an actor and a resolution of conflict by using violence, especially against civil society labeled communist. Second, the early transitional period (1997-2003) which exposed Indonesia to horizontal-communal conflicts based on ethnicity, religion, race and intergroups in various regions. This violent conflict is said to be high-scale with not a few casualties and damage to infrastructure such as places of worship and people's homes. Third, the post-reform period (2004 until now). The dominant pattern of conflict is characterized by vertical conflict between civil society and the government. Civil society, which is dominated by Muslims, feels politically marginalized. The climax was seen in the mass demonstration following the blasphemy case by the Governor of DKI, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Muliono, 2020).

After communal conflicts above, especially in Poso, Ambon, North Maluku and Sambas, adat has again attracted the attention of researchers and is being discussed as a medium of reconciliation (Bakri, 2015; Bräuchler, 2009; Frost, 2014; Ichsan Malik, 2016; Pelletier & Soedirgo, 2017). In fact, adat has prevented violent conflict in some places. Disputes between villagers in North Aceh (Amalia et al., 2018), violations of village values and ethics in Bima (Arihan et al., 2018), customary land disputes in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara (Sopian, 2015) are resolved through custom or adat mechanism (deliberation/consensus). Apart from being legitimate in supporting the reconciliation process of conflicting parties, adat is also believed to provide more legal certainty and justice for citizens who have limited access to state courts (Amalia et al., 2018; Sopian, 2015).

Adat which is discussed as a medium of reconciliation after communal violence conflicts (ethnicity and religion) in Poso, Ambon, North Maluku and Sambas (Bakri, 2015; Bräuchler, 2009; Frost, 2014; Ichsan Malik, 2016; Mannitz, 2017; Pelletier & Soedirgo, 2017) have prevented violent conflicts from occurring in other areas. Disputes between villagers in North Aceh (Amalia et al., 2018), violations of village values and ethics in Bima (Arihan et al., 2018), customary land disputes in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara (Sopian, 2015) are resolved through custom or adat mechanism (deliberation/consensus). Apart from being legitimate in supporting the reconciliation process of conflicting parties, adat is also believed to provide more legal certainty and justice for citizens who have limited access to state courts (Amalia et al., 2018; Sopian, 2015).

Initially, the study of the relationship between adat and conflict in Indonesia identified adat as a potential for harmony because it emphasized consensus and regularity which included morality, tradition, ethnic law even before the advent of religions which also included the world of the supernatural and beliefs (Biezeveld, 2007) (Biezeveld, 2007; F. von Benda-Beckmann & von Benda-Beckmann, 2011). Recent studies, particularly post-reform, see adat as an alliance, protest movement and even a source of communal conflict when villagers take action to correct past injustices and gain access to local resources (F. von B.-B. and K. von Benda- Beckmann, 2001; McCarthy, 2004). After the conflict, adat was once again looked at as a media for reconciliation that could unite the society and overcoming divisions between religions (Frost, 2014) along with the discovery of various potentials for adat as a conflict resolution. Seeing the trend of existing studies, it appears that adat is flexible; it gives birth to harmony, conflict and also conflict resolution. However, its potential as a resolution to prevent violent conflict and peace between religions has escaped the attention of researchers.

This study is a respond toward the limitation of the previous study. Taken the example of case study of nigari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman District, West Sumatera, this study is in particular aimed to show

the customary potential in avoiding violence conflict and as a peacemaker between Minang-Muslim (MM) and Nias-Christian (NK) communities. In addition to identifying the types of conflicts that occur and the involved actors, this study also show the resolution models offered by the custom or adat in accordance with the development and the type of conflict that occur. Even though, the conflict is rooted on the pig farm, however the four phases of conflict reveal different developments; hence, different customary resolution model is of vital importance. In the other words, the purpose of this study is to prove that the custom or adat is providing various model of conflict resolution among different religions based on the character of the occurring conflict.

This study is based on the argument that adat or custom in Minangkabau is not merely hinges on tradition and hereditary etiquette, but also about the ideal behavior pattern which becomes the basic for ethical assessment and social hope included in the conflict resolution (Abdullah, 1966; Azra, 2017). Historically, adat has been proven resilient when it comes to Paderi Islamic purification movement which ended on the agreement on adat basandi Syara' Syara Basandi Kitabullah, Syara' Mangato, Adat Mamakai (adat based on Islam, Islam based on al-Qur'an, Islam is to explain, as for adat is to carry out) (Hadler, 2010). In the recent context, adat or custom is not only used for land conflict resolution including conflict on waqf land conflict (Zahara & Mirwati, 2019). Adat or custom is also employed as a conflict resolution between religious communities as will be shown in this article.

Initially, the study of the relationship between adat and conflict in Indonesia identified adat as a potential for harmony because it emphasized consensus and regularity which included morality, tradition, ethnic law even before the advent of religions which also included the world of the supernatural and beliefs (Biezeveld, 2007; Takano, 2009; F. von Benda-Beckmann & von Benda-Beckmann, 2011). In many cases it refers to norms, practices and values which are referred to as local traditions which are sometimes considered to be contrary to religious norms and colonial law, but in certain cases are identical to the religion itself (Abdullah, 1966). From a legalistic perspective, adat or custom refers to social norms that are translated into codes (customary law), and in a superficial sense are used as cultural ornaments, in wedding ceremonies and cooking (Bowen, 2005). Therefore, adat is considered as an umbrella concept that includes tradition, culture, law and morality (F. von B.-B. Von Benda-Beckmann & Keebet, 2001). Apart from the above controversies, in a society without a state, adat has functioned to organize and guide social behavior, encourage tolerance and inclusion of others, explain to its members the obligations that must be obeyed and the opportunities that can be enjoyed (Biezeveld, 2007; Bleiker, 2011)

Adat turned into a source of conflict starting when the Dutch colonized Indonesia. Adat as a pattern of behavior that is informal, adaptive, dynamic and flexible (Biezeveld, 2007; Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, 2013) is promoted as a rigid *adatrecht* (customary law) vis-a-vis the fear of Islamic identity as an ideological weapon of resistance for Indonesian society (Mutaqin, 2011; K. von Benda-Beckmann, 1996). Customary law then clashes and experiences tension, contestative and dominative with Islamic law and colonial law, for example on women's issues and local traditions (Adeney-Risakotta, 2016; Ali, 2011; Aljunied, 2016; Schenk, 2019). After the collapse of the New Order regime, adat became a source of conflict and resistance movements against the government (McCarthy, 2004; Tamma & Duile, 2020; F. von B.-B. Von Benda-Beckmann & Keebet, 2001).

On a macro scale, it starts with expanding the campaign for customary law vis-a-vis national land law to gain state recognition (Afiff & Rachman, 2019; Bedner et al., 2019; Tamma & Duile, 2020). This was made possible because it received support from international organizations concerned with adat, uncertainty about democratization, post-Soeharto regime decentralization, suppression of indigenous peoples during the New Order era and the positive role of adat in state politics when Indonesian

nationalism began (Henley & Davidson, 2008). Meanwhile, at the micro level, it emerged as a protest movement or political land acquisition by indigenous peoples in Sumba, Bali, South Sulawesi and Kalimantan (Bra, 2018; Robinson, 2019; Tamma & Duile, 2020; Vel & Makambombu, 2019). Customary traditions are even alleged to be a source of violent conflict in Maluku, West Sulawesi and Tarakan, North Kalimantan (Baumont et al., 2020; Schulze, 2017; Wilson, 2013).

After the communal conflict that killed thousands of people and damage public facility (Al Qurtuby, 2016; van Klinken, 2007) at the end of the New Order, adat is considered as a resolution toward the conflict (Frost, 2014). Even though, the leader of the religion is considered as a contributor in creating peace and reconciliation (Al Qurtuby, 2013), however, reconciliation based on adat is considered as more effective in achieving stability (Pelletier & Soedirgo, 2017), it is even considered as the only neutral choice (Bräuchler, 2015). In the middle of limitation of national and provincial leaders in reducing and declining the conflict; hence, the only choice left is the traditional leader who reflects the values of adat or customary values (Pelletier & Soedirgo, 2017). Customary dispute resolution often involves efforts to bring the disputing parties to deliberation with a formal apology by the perpetrator-victim and the payment of a fine. Such a resolution is considered not only oriented towards resolving certain cases, but also to restore harmony between parties divided by crimes (Acciaioli, 2017). Besides that, various customary potentials as resolutions were also raised. For example, in West Papua, adat has been codified as an integral part of centralized government and development policies by both the central and regional governments including by the Free Papua Movement (Kusumaryati, 2019). Adat has also become a negotiating force between state law and Islamic law in registration law reform marriage and divorce in Aceh (Schenk, 2019). The potential for adat as consensus, cooperation, mediation and reconciliation is found in various local customs spread across various regions in Indonesia (Halim & Hm, 2020; Hasudungan & Sartika, 2019; Horne, 2014; Oktavia et al., 2018; Pangalila et al., 2019; Ross et al., 2019; Salenussa et al., 2019; Thomson, 2000; Zhu & Simarmata, 2015).

Seeing the trend of existing studies, it appears that adat is flexible; it gives birth to harmony, conflict and also conflict resolution. However, its potential as a resolution to prevent violent conflict and peace between religions has escaped the attention of researchers. This study is a respond toward the limitation of the previous study. Taken the example of case study of nigari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman District, West Sumatera, this study is in particular aimed to show the customary potential in avoiding violence conflict and as a peacemaker between Minang-Muslim (MM) and Nias-Christian (NK) communities. In addition to identifying the types of conflicts that occur and the involved actors, this study also show the resolution models offered by the custom or adat in accordance with the development and the type of conflict that occur. Even though, the conflict is rooted on the pig farm, however the four phases of conflict reveal different developments; hence, different customary resolution model is of vital importance. In the other words, the purpose of this study is to prove that the custom or adat is providing various model of conflict resolution among different religions based on the character of the occurring conflict.

This paper uses the Ting-Toomey & Chung theory of identity negotiation which places cultural identity (including custom) as the primary identity that has a long-term impact on life (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012). Based on this theory, built the argument that adat in Minangkabau is not merely hinges on tradition and hereditary etiquette, but also about the ideal behavior pattern which becomes the basic for ethical assessment and social hope included in the conflict resolution (Abdullah, 1966; Azra, 2017). Historically, adat has been proven resilient when it comes to Paderi Islamic purification movement which ended on the agreement on adat basandi Syara'

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RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative research based on mainly toward document data/file owned by nigari. The document is selected randomly in line with the research focus that is the use of adat in the resolution among religious communities. Instead of document data as the primary source, this writing is also accomplished by secondary data obtained from the involved actors in the last conflict resolution in 2016. The data obtained from document/file of nigari is confirmed to the actors as the participants of this research. The participants of this research are NS tribal chief, its former priest (BNKP), and pig farm as the representation of NK community in that nigari and those who are involved in conflict resolution. Meanwile, in the similar context from MM community is represented by wali Korong (the same level as RW), KAN Nagari Sungai Buluh, wali nagari, the police, mufti nigari, and ulama in nigari level. The research treatments toward those two parties are confirmation and depth-interview in accordance with the above focus of the research problem.

The document used as the research instrument in this study is the document or the written note of the conflict event and its resolution between the communities of MM and NK. The document consists of meeting invitation, minutes of meeting, and resolution issued by the Nagari government, KAN, BPAN, Regional Government of Padang Pariaman Regency, Sungai Buluh NK, and HIMNI of West Sumatera. Moreover, the other data used is data derived from online news, research report and journal that covers the issue. The document is strengthened by the guidance of the interview as the basic of question formulation. First, it is related with the data that has caused the conflict which becomes the foundation of adat based resolution. Second, it is the steps of the conflict and models of conflict resolution offered. Third, it is the media by the police and Regional Government as the final step of conflict resolution and to maintain the harmony relation between the two communities.

Furthermore, data of the document, online news, research report and interview data are classified based on theme to clarify the significance of adat in conflict resolution. The data is classified based on theme and by considering the related aspects. The significance context of adat usage will be analyzed by using parameter of factors underlying the conflict, strategy selected in conflict resolution, actors involved and models of conflict resolution based on the agreed adat or custom. Data will be analyzed through restatement phase, data description, and data interpretation. Restatement is conducted by referring to the document theme and interview citation in accordance with the perspective of actor involved in conflict resolution. Next, data description is carried out to reveal the types of the conflict and models of adat resolution that can be formulated. In addition, the interpretation process is carried out by focusing on the element related with the conflict; the cause, actor, resolution selected and customary space in every choice.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Custom or Adat Based Resolution

The conflict between Minang-Muslim (MM) community and Nias-Christian (NK) related with the pig farm has lasted for 4 periods of time; 2001; 2006; 2009; 2016, marked by different characteristics and context during 2001 and 2006 period of time which is not solely triggered by the pig farms issue such as in 2009 and 2016, but also triggered by other problem; the problem of the new comers from Nias islands (2001) and hall construction that is suspected for worship of Christian (2006). However, it is of vital importance to note that adat mechanism in the form of colloquy (negotiation), consensus has been used as the main media in conflict resolution based on the characteristics of the conflicts occurred on those above periods of time.

Resolution of Sakato Samufakat and Conflict in 2001

This conflict, which was the first to occur, was not only triggered by the issue of pig farming, but also by the issue of newcomers from the Nias Islands. Although it has been permitted to raise pigs for customary and religious purposes, in practice it is alleged that it is also intended for business purposes (in large quantities). At the same time, the presence of newcomers from the Nias Islands, apart from not being properly recorded, is also seen as having brought new ideas. Among them, pig farms which were originally only for the benefit of traditional ceremonies by several Nias communities, were developed to become a transit point for pigs from other areas in large numbers. Pigs are no longer raised but are brought in from outside the area (Sibolga and Pekanbaru) and then transported to Sungai Buluh to be distributed to areas in need, such as the Mentawai Islands (Document of Agreement between Apparatus and Community of Pasar Usang Village, Batang Anai District, 30 January 2001; S (40 years) nagari secretary; TH (60 years) KAN, interview, 2017). This has caused restlessness and anger in the MM Sungai Buluh community. Yet they do not take the path of violence. Instead, they returned to the tradition of deliberation to find an agreement in resolving the conflict, by summoning the parties concerned.

The deliberation took place on Tuesday, 30 January 2001. The NK community was represented by their customary leader who from the start had agreed to represent the interests of the Nias community in the nagari. Meanwhile, from the MM community it was attended by KAN Nagari Sungai Buluh representing the chieftain element. Meanwhile, from the *cadiak pandai* (government) element, it was attended by the head of Tanjung Basung II hamlet, where the pigs are bred and transited, the Head of Pasar Usang Village, Batang Anai Sub-District Head, the Animal Husbandry Service Office of Padang Pariaman Regency, the Office of Religious Affairs for Padang Pariaman Regency, the Padang Pariaman High Prosecutor's Office, and Ramil Batang Anai, Head of the Batang Anai Police, Padang Pariaman Police, Head of *Tibun* (Head of Public Order) and Head of the Legal Department (Document of Mutual Agreement on Apparatus and Community of Pasar Usang Village, Batang Anai District, 30 January 2001).

Musyarawah or the colloquy or the deliberation has succeeded in agreeing on a resolution in the form of a treaty and agreement. The main one is the ban on raising pigs to anyone for business purposes. Pigs may only be raised (by specified breeders) for customary and religious purposes, a maximum of 10 pigs with the provision that they are approximately 150 meters from the city of life and houses of worship, in pens, the number may not exceed the existing provisions. Those who are already raising livestock for business purposes are given a one-week deadline to move them out of the village. Meanwhile, with regard to newcomers from the Nias ethnic group or others, they are required to report to the head of the Nias tribe, the head of the hamlet, the head of the village and must live in the hamlet of Tanjung Basung II, where the Nias tribe is concentrated (Document of Mutual Agreement on Apparatus and Community of Pasar Usang Village, Batang Anai District, 30 January 2001).

Resolution of Sakato Samufakat and Conflict in 2006

The above agreement did not work effectively, five years later the conflict re-occurred with one of the similar factors, namely pigs which had disturbed the surrounding community. Pigs, which were originally only for customary purposes, are still misused for business purposes, even though the previous agreement had prohibited them. In addition, the conflict in 2006 was also triggered by another problem, namely the plan to build a hall (multi-purpose building) for the Nias community in the church compound. It is suspected that the plan could be misused as a place of worship, to accommodate congregations from outside the nagari (Document of the Decision of the BPAN Nagari Sungai Buluh Plenary Meeting, 7 December 2006). In fact, according to the adat nagari Salangkaka that applies in the Nagari, the church is only intended for the NK community which is considered to have become a Nagari member, not for congregations from outside including NK who are domiciled elsewhere (DL, Head of KAN Sungai Buluh, interview, 26-07-2017).

The deliberation was again chosen as a resolution to find the best solution and was held on Thursday, December 7 2006. Elements from the NK community as usual were attended by their headman. Meanwhile, from the MM community, different from the previous deliberations, the penghulu was represented by the Chair and its members, from the clergy element represented by the Mufti Nagari and the Nagari Ulama and from the Cadiak Pandai (government) represented by Wali Korong (RW) in the Sungai Buluh village, Wali Nagari and Camat, KUA Batang Anai, sub-district and provincial level police. Besides that, it was also attended by other elements in the nagari such as LPM (Community Empowerment Institute), youth leaders and representatives from BPAN (National Children's Representative Body) (BPAN (Nagari Children Representative Agency) Attendance List Document of Sungai Buluh, 7 December 2006).

Just like the previous conflict, deliberation or colloquy also gave birth to several agreements. First, it is stricter than the previous agreement, instead of that, it is not being allowed to raise pigs for business purposes, it is also limited to only one male and one female for a predetermined breeder. This is more of a second warning for violating the same agreement. Second, the construction of the NK community multipurpose building has been temporarily suspended until there is an agreement starting from the Korong level to the nagari level in accordance with the customs in force in that nagari (Decision Document of BPAN Nagari Sungai Buluh Plenary Meeting, 7 December 2006 and Decree of the Wali Nagari Sungai Buluh Number: 208/WN-SB/XII-2006 concerning the Prohibition of Raising Pigs in Sungai Buluh).

Resolution of Sakato Samufakat and Conflict in 2009

This time the conflict was caused by a single factor, namely the problem of pig farming and chronologically it was the third time caused by this factor. Apart from being considered to have violated the two previous agreements, this made the MM community even more angry because pigs had wandered into public facilities such as public roads and disturbed residents' crops. Finally, carcasses and waste of pigs were found at the irrigation port where the water is used for bathing, washing and performing ablution (Decree of the Nagari Sungai Buluh Government Number: 13/WN/SB/II-2009 concerning the Prohibition of Raising Pigs). For this reason, the 1 February 2009 meeting no longer involved the head of the Nias community. The deliberation was only attended by important elements in the MM community; youth, Korong guardians, nagari guardians, nagari religious leaders and ninik mamak (principals) within the nagari. It also does not involve elements of government at the sub-district and district levels (Decree of KAN Nagari Sungai Buluh Number: 05/KAN/SB/2009 concerning Submission of Minutes of Meeting regarding the Prohibition of Pig Breeding).

As might be expected a tougher deal resulted. The NK community is prohibited from raising pigs in Sungai Buluh Nagari. As of one month from the date of this decision to empty the pigsty and move them out of the nagari. If this is not heeded, the nagari and youth of the Sungai Buluh nagari will take firm action (Decree of KAN Nagari Sungai Buluh Number: 05/KAN/SB/2009 concerning Submission of Minutes of Meeting regarding the Prohibition of Pig Breeding). Less than a month, 23 February 2009, the decision received a response from the NK community. Through a statement signed by 114 members, the NK community negotiated the need for pigs for irreplaceable customary interests. They promise; (1) in raising livestock according to the 2001 joint decision; (2) will not release pigs onto public roads from 06.00 am to 08.00 pm; (3) the stables are made sturdy so that livestock do not easily escape; (4) cutting is not carried out near highways, places of worship and near irrigation ports, including not dumping the waste there; (4) apart from having to obtain permission from the head of the NK community, they will also be supervised by a team specifically appointed to carry out this task (Response Document to the Letter of Wali Nagari Sungai Buluh from the NK Community, 23 February 2009).

The above statement letter is succeeded in reducing the anger of MM community, even though, it has been twice that NK community violate the agreement of both parties and NK community even violate the stern warning delivered by MM community. The breeder from NK community is given tolerance to raise the pigs according to the agreement of 2001.

Resolution of Sakato Samufakat and Conflict in 2009

The climax of the conflict took place on 4 January 2016 around 03.20 pm in which leftover pig carcasses was found in the irrigation port in which the water is also used by the MM community for bathing, washing, and ablution. This has caused more anger and annoyance of the MM community. In order to anticipate unwanted results, on the very next day 5 January 2016 at 10.10 am, the police in the sub-district level has been able to mediate the two parties to come to a peace agreement (Peace Statement Document between MM and NK Communities, 5 January 2016). NK community is represented by the representation of Nias tribe, the leader of the youth, community leader, wali nagari and KAN of nagari Sungai Buluh. There is nothing new of the resulted agreement other than the making of prohibition sign of disposing of pig waste and any waste to irrigation port. At the same time, all parties including the police apparatus is trying to find the people who disposed the pig waste (Peace Statement Document between MM and NK Communities, 5 January 2016).

However, the above peace statement is not adequate to withstand the anger of the community member of MM in Sungai Buluh. Hence, on 6 January 2016 at 08.30 pm based on the new deliberation or colloquy-consensus of nagari institutions, ulama of the nagari, the leaders of MM community, the youths, wali nagari, sector police chief, Head of intelligence of the Padang Pariaman Police and Koramil are cancelling the peace statement that has been agreed a day before (Document of the Results of the Nagari Deliberation Agreement Decision, January 6, 2016). They make a new deal; (1) eliminating livestock and raising pigs in Sungai Buluh Nagari; (2) given the opportunity to vacate/relocate their livestock on their own from 10 January at 00.00 am until Sunday, 24 January 2016 at 00.00 am; (3) if it is not heeded, then residents will vacate by force and ask for assistance from the police; (d) asked the ninik mamak to stop raising pigs for the customary use of the Nias tribe, which would have the potential to cause long-lasting conflicts within the community (Document on the Results of the Nagari Deliberation Agreement Decision, 6 January 2016).

Conflicts and tensions are escalated after the NK community through the West Sumatra Indonesian Nias Community Association (HIMNI) submitted a letter requesting legal protection and security for the

Nias people in Nagari Sungai Buluh to the police. The letter was copied to various parties including the National Police Chief in Jakarta and WAKAPOLDA West Sumatra in Padang. The letter has left the MM community feeling neglected and unappreciated. They have tried to resolve the recurring conflicts in accordance with the adat of the nagari, limiting them to the nagari level (Decree of the Regional Leadership Council of the Indonesian Nias Community Association (HIMNI) West Sumatra Number: 11/DPD/01/2016 Concerning Requests for Legal Protection and Protection of the Nias Community in Tanjung Basung II Nagari Sungai Buluh, Padang Pariaman Regency). However, the letter has expanded the problem to become a national problem which has led the two communities, especially their youth, to attack each other. In the midst of two camps preparing themselves with sharp weapons, as wali Korong (chairman of RW) said NS, he "Trying to defuse tensions through dialogue, visiting figures or leaders in the MM and NK communities. The target, as entrusted by the police chief, is so that smoke does not billow, glass does not break and blood does not spill." (NS, 45 years old, wali korong (head of RW), interview, 2017).

Because tensions were heating up and the Sungai Buluh community leaders could no longer suppress it, the matter was finally transferred to the regional government of Padang Pariaman Regency. January 2, 2016 a deliberation or colloquy was held in the Regional Secretariat Meeting Room of the Padang Pariaman Regent's Office which was attended by the chairman of the Sungai Buluh KAN, the head of the Nias tribe and the Wali Nagari of Sungai Buluh. All agreed to vacate the pigs from the Sungai Buluh nagari and replace the livestock with ducks, the costs of which would be borne by the Padang Pariaman Regional Government (Invitation Document for the Padang Pariaman District Government Meeting Number: 005/6/Umum/2016, interview with P, Nias Sungai Buluh Church Management, HZ, Nias chief tribe, DL, KAN Nagari Sungai Buluh, interview, 2017).

Pigs were vacated and a few months later the district government of Padang Pariaman provides compensation. Paid for piglets that are still suckling 200.000 thousand rupiahs/head, piglets that are divorced from suckling are paid 500.000 thousand rupiahs/head. The total replacement fund reached 283 million for 89 pig farming families (Tobari, 2016). In the next few months, it was followed by the delivery of duck livestock assistance to 35 farmer families in the first stage. Assistance comes with 35 drug packages and 2.5 fodder. Each breeder received 1 aid package consisting of 2 male ducks, 20 female ducks, 1 medicine package and 72 kilograms of feed (Riska, 2016). At the end of December 2017, the second stage of assistance was again handed over as many as 1.100 ducks to 50 heads of families, accomplished with medicine and feed (observation, 20 December 2017).

Adat is protecting the minority Community

This research shows that adat has become an important factor in conflict resolution between religion in Minangkabau, West Sumatera. The potential of adat in the form of deliberation, consensus and mediation are used as media to discuss conflict factor, the involvement of related parties in order to negotiate and to agree on different kind of resolution model based on the occur conflict typology. The offer of conflict resolution ranging from prohibition and the restrictions on raising pigs to the total ban. However, the restriction itself is accomplished with the compensation by shifting it to the duck farm when the conflict tends to be physical violence.

The various mechanisms and models of customary resolution used in the conflict above reflect the large customary space in Minang people's lives, including in religious life, although at the same time they are known as devout Muslims. The resolution mechanisms and models offered are statements about the significance of adat in the life of the Minang people. In fact, this type of adat has resolved conflicts with

ethnic and religious nuances and can be an alternative model for resolving similar conflicts in other regions.

The results that show customary space in the resolution of religious conflicts above are possible because custom is based on the power of consensus deliberation which emphasizes togetherness and the interests of the people. In practice, the *sakato samufakaik*/consensus deliberation pattern is not only used for deliberations to manage socio-religious differences within their internal circles, but also in dealing with inter-ethnic and inter-religious differences and conflicts along with the existence of NK in the nagari. The strengthening of the tradition of deliberation and consensus in MM as the majority community, did not appear suddenly, but is firmly rooted in Minangkabau culture. MM said that the customs that apply in their village originate from harmony or the *Bodi Caniago* system, one of the socio-political systems that apply in Minangkabau.

Even though adat has strengthened on the one hand, it does not mean that on the other hand, religious values in both communities have weakened. In practice, many times the results of deliberations for consensus regarding pigsties were violated by NK because apart from being related to customary and economic interests, they also believed that there was no prohibition in the Bible. On the other hand, every time a violation occurs, the threat of a violent agreement is getting louder because in addition to pigs being hunted, it also has implications for religious structures such as pollution of the irrigation canals where the water is used for ablution.

Why is religion also getting stronger? Because MM is in the Pariaman rantau area and it was in this area that Islam was first spread in Minangkabau. It's just that it is different from the development of Islamic patterns in other Minangkabau areas which tend to be legal formalistic (Hamdani, 2009; Salim, 2015), here the Islam that is developing is Sufistic Islam, to be precise, the *Syattariyah* Order which the student of Sheikh Burhanuddin managed to bridge the tension between the tareket and the sharia. so that Syatariah is able to become a reconciling force. The Sheikh Burhanuddin congregation in its development tries to justify the doctrine of Sufism with the Hadith tradition so that it is not considered as something that is contrary to Al-Qur'an and Sunnah (Fathurahman, 2008). The tradition of reconciliation has continued until now as seen in the deliberations between MM and NK regarding the management of pig farm.

In fact, similar symptoms in NK are more of a core identity marker complementing symbols, rituals and practices to affirm, convey or to rediscover who they are vis-a-vis their overseas regions and country of origin. If religious practices give meaning to everyday life, then culturally, geographically and socio-economically uprooted people to find religious institutions as a place to participate (Raijman & Pinsky, 2013). In contrast to the formalistic tendency of Christianity in Papua, for example (Yamin et al., 2019), NK has found a reconciliation meeting point between Christianity and Christianity through the *Banua Niha Keriso* Protestant (BNKP) local church. Even though religious values strengthen in both communities, the choice of conflict resolution between them is precisely the customary deliberation and consensus. This has implications for the involvement of many actors and the dominance of the *sakato samufakaik* approach in conflict resolution. The involvement of many actors in conflict resolution shows the basis of a democratic culture for MM in particular and the Minangkabau people in general who want every agreement to be made with *satako-samufakat* (Nurus Shalihin, 2014). However, different from the liberal democratic tradition which emphasizes the principle of individual freedom, Minangkabau communitarian democracy is based more on the principle of mutual listening and respect for others. Cultures of tolerance, openness, egalitarianism, responsibility, mutual trust and equality are important in public debate to make decisions (Bakaruddin, 2012). This has colored almost all of conflict processes between MM and NK, starting from conflict resolution to preventing and maintaining peace. Conflict

resolution was pursued through *sakato-samufakat* (dialogue and negotiation) with interested parties, especially MM which resulted in treaties and agreements regarding pig farming with NK. In addition, preventing conflict and maintaining peace through the media of banning and replacing pigs with ducks is carried out by the Regional Government of Padang Pariaman Regency. A space that seems to have escaped the attention of experts and researchers on communal conflicts in Indonesia.

It is important to note why pigs can be transformed into ducks because both religious and ethnic communities agree to use adat as a medium for communicating their various interests. Adat is seen as a middle way that brings together the religious differences of the two communities. For the Minang Muslim community, adat fills the aspect of rationality while religion fills the emotional side. If adat sees *lamak di awak katuju dek urang* (good for us, good for others), then religion strengthens reconciliation in which *silaturrohim* is the starting point to create a balance between different elements.

Research on the use of adat in conflict resolution has identified the potential of adat as a conflict resolution mechanism for ethical violations between villages, disputes between residents, land disputes including waqf land. However, the existing studies have not discussed the use of this potential to prevent violent conflict and the various resolution models produced in the context of religious conflict from two different ethnic and religious communities. This research shows that adat has offered various resolutions to religious conflicts ranging from prohibitions and restrictions on raising pigs to a total ban and substitution of ducks. Adat has prevented violent conflicts with religious nuances between ethnic Minang-Muslim and Nias-Christian in Sungai Buluh Nagari, Padang Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra.

The research results revealed the effectiveness of adat in resolving religious conflicts requires synergy with religious values, so that their function is more significant in resolving these conflicts. Recent religious characters tend to be missionary, expansive, narcissistic and centrism (Arifianto, 2009; Subagya, 2015; Yustisia et al., 2019) thus, these need to be anticipated by strengthening local traditions that are already rooted in the life of the Indonesian nation. This effort is not enough just by let it grow and develop on its own in certain communities and people (Minangkabau), but the government needs to encourage and facilitate so that people in other areas can also carry out similar movements.

CONCLUSION

It turns out that adat, which has been discussed as a resolution of ethnic and religious-based post violent conflicts in eastern Indonesia, has prevented similar conflicts between the Minang-Muslim and Nias-Christian communities in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. These findings indicate that the potential for deliberation and consensus in the adat of the MM community has become the main media for conflict resolution, so that it does not lead to physical violence between the MM community and the NK community regarding the issue of pig farming. Through the customary potential that has long been a tradition in the MM community, it is also possible to find models of religious conflict resolution such as deliberation (negotiation), consensus (consensus) and mediation based on the characteristics of the conflict that occurred. In the long run, it will have an impact on the pattern of relations between the majority and minority communities. Deliberation, consensus and mediation do not only have the potential to resolve inter-religious conflicts that can occur at any time, but also become guarantees and protection for minority communities.

The concept of adat used in this study has made it possible to find it space for an explanation of the flexible and humanist character of adat that applies to the nagari in Minangkabau such as the Nagari Sungai Buluh. The flexible character is supported by the customary nature of adat *nan babuhua sentak* (can be changed, added or subtracted) which applies at the nagari level, while the humanist character is rooted in

traditional buildings which emphasize *raso jo pareso*, *hereang jo gendeang*, *nan elok dek awak*, *katuju deko urang* (feeling and self-checking, shyness and politeness, chatter, good for us, good for other people) (H. Idrus Hakimy Dt. Rajo Panghulu, 2001). These two characters have been shown in the tug-of-war of conflict resolution ranging from prohibitions and restrictions to a total ban and the provision of compensation in the form of payment and replacement of pigs with ducks for the NK community.

This study is limited to analyzing how adat is functioning and becoming effective in preventing and resolving conflicts so that conflicts do not turn into physical violence as well as to transform them into joint actions by the related parties in order to be able to maintain peace. There are still other potentials that at any time could lead to violent conflict such as the existence of a multipurpose building within the Nias Christian community church which is suspected of being a place of worship outside a recognized church. Apart from that, the existence of newcomers from Nias island who were not properly recorded was also suspected of bringing new ideas which would become a source of conflict between the MM and NK communities. Integrating conflict resolution mechanisms and models regarding the existence of multi-purpose buildings in churches and new arrivals from Nias who are less well-documented with pig farming conflict resolution will enable a comprehensive understanding of the increasingly functional and effective adat in Minang people's lives. Thus, further studies are of vital importance in exploring how adat is also used in anticipating and resolving these two-potential conflicts.

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